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The New NATO Policy Guidelines on Counterterrorism: Analysis, Assessments, and Actions

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Cover: NATO E-3A Sentry Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS)

aircraft flies mission over southern Germany, September 2012.

On October 8, 2001, NATO launched its first antiterror operation,

Eagle Assist, whereby AWACS aircraft were sent to help patrol the skies over the United States for 8 months.

Photo by Bennie J. Davis III (U.S. Air Force)

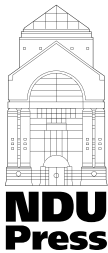
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By Stefano Santamato
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Executive Summary

The history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will say that the first, and so far only, time NATO has called upon its Article 5 collective defense clause was on September 12, 2001, following a terrorist attack on one of its members. Yet, until the agreement by NATO Heads of State and Government on the new policy guidelines on counterterrorism on May 20, 2012, NATO did not have an agreed policy to define its role and mandate in countering terrorism.

In the 11 years that have followed the 9/11 attacks on the United States, NATO has opted for a pragmatic approach to the fight against terrorism and succeeded in identifying its added value. The result has been a series of substantial counterterrorism activities. Their impact, however, has been mitigated by the lack of an agreed policy defining NATO's rightful place among international counterterrorism actors. The evolving nature of the terrorist environment and of the global responses required has made it necessary to reassess the threat posed by terrorism and its implications for the Alliance. The new NATO policy guidelines on counterterrorism are the result of a comprehensive intellectual and political process that started with the 2010 Strategic Concept and led to the conclusion that in an era in which emerging challenges blend collective defense with the broader concept of collective security, the lens of collective interest must replace the prism of national perspectives. With this in mind, the overall judgment on the new policy guidelines can and should be positive.

Conceptually, the guidelines translate the notions of prevention and resilience into NATO policy and anchor its counterterrorism activities to the Alliance's *core tasks* of collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security.

In substance, the new policy guidelines focus on NATO's strengths, such as intelligence-sharing, capacity-building, special operations forces, training, and technology and capabilities. In doing so, the guidelines inaugurate a new phase of NATO's engagement in countering terrorism, predicated around the three principles of compliance with international law, NATO support to Allies, and nonduplication and complementarity in addition to focusing on the three key areas of awareness, capabilities, and engagement.

There are, however, three persisting shadow areas that may hinder the policy's potential. One is the vague and qualified notion of NATO cooperation with the European Union. The second is the need to reconcile the *horizontal* and cross-cutting nature of the terrorist threat with the *vertical* reality of Alliance policies and structures. The third area is the need to establish a clearer and more direct link between NATO's broader efforts and Allies' homeland security, intended here as the fundamental bond between sovereignty and the body public.

In this respect, the guidelines represent only a necessary first step. The challenge ahead for NATO policymakers is to define an Action Plan that ensures the implementation of the policy guidelines while, and by, addressing these issues. To this end, this paper suggests six cross-cutting proposals that should find their way into the proposed Action Plan:

- apply “Net Assessment” to counterterrorism
- develop effective counterterrorism strategic communications
- establish a homeland security constituency in NATO and foster the executive role of the Terrorism Task Force
- promote a NATO Border Security Initiative
- develop a “functional” Counterterrorism Partnership Framework
- contribute to the Global Counterterrorism Forum.

While certainly not sufficient, these six initiatives may well be necessary conditions to help place counterterrorism at the center of NATO’s post–International Security Assistance Force agenda and offer a new template for NATO’s role in facing the emerging security environment in an unpredictable world.

Introduction

In April 2012, the North Atlantic Council agreed on the new North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) policy guidelines on counterterrorism. On May 20, 2012, the Alliance's Heads of State and Government endorsed the policy guidelines at their summit in Chicago and tasked the North Atlantic Council to "prepare an Action Plan to further enhance NATO's ability to prevent, deter, and respond to terrorism by identifying initiatives to enhance threat awareness, capabilities, and engagement."¹

What may appear as routine NATO business—the agreement of a policy and the development of an implementation plan—is in fact groundbreaking news for the Alliance. Until now, NATO did not have an agreed policy to define its role and mandate in countering the terrorist threat, notwithstanding the fact that a terrorist attack was the origin of its first and only invocation of the Article 5 collective defense clause.

In the 11 years that followed the 9/11 attacks on the United States, NATO opted for a pragmatic approach to its contribution to the fight against terrorism, aware of the political, historical, and sometimes ideological differences among Allies. On the ground, NATO's contribution has been substantial; the Alliance has engaged in all areas of work related to terrorism—political, operational, conceptual, military, technological, and scientific. Yet the evolving nature of the terrorist environment, and of the global response, has made it necessary to reassess the threat posed by terrorism and its implications for the Alliance.

This trend was first captured by the new Strategic Concept, adopted by NATO Heads of State and Government at the Alliance's Lisbon Summit in November 2010. For the first time, terrorism was specifically included among the direct threats to NATO's security and a renewed emphasis placed on the Alliance's role in fighting it.² By focusing on threat analysis, partner consultations, capability development, and training, the Strategic Concept also indicated the way ahead. Against these premises, the Allied nations acknowledged the need to reinvigorate NATO's role in, and contribution to, the fight against terrorism.

The new NATO policy guidelines on counterterrorism are the result of a comprehensive intellectual and political process that started with the 2010 Strategic Concept, passed through the analysis of the evolving terrorist environment, and ended with an assessment of NATO's contribution to the fight against terrorism. In this respect, the guidelines should not be considered as the snapshot of an endstate but rather as a fresh start for a contribution to countering terrorism. The development of an Action Plan on counterterrorism will translate policy into action and provide answers to questions left open.

The logical deduction of this process is that against the evolving nature of an increasingly global and interconnected terrorist threat, an “across the board” approach to fighting terrorist networks becomes both sensible and necessary. Broad international counterterrorist alliances become part of the solution. Defining NATO’s own role in countering terrorism becomes a compelling need.

Evolution of the Transnational Terrorist Threat

Today, terrorism has become more dispersed, decentralized, and multifaceted. In a word, it has become complex. One can adopt a “methods and motives”³ approach or attempt to make a distinction between national and international terrorism and still not be able to define a single framework to capture all aspects of the challenge. As a direct consequence of al Qaeda’s attacks on the United States, NATO’s involvement with countering terrorism has focused on its international dimension “over and above” national efforts and beyond national borders.

Well before the demise of Osama bin Laden in May 2011, experts concurred that there was no longer a wide global network run directly by al Qaeda. Thanks also to the successes in disrupting its leadership and network, al Qaeda–like operations are increasingly dependent on local “franchises,” such as in Yemen, Somalia, the Middle East, and North Africa.⁴ While potentially diminishing the scope and reach of al Qaeda’s activity, this evolution cannot be considered a strategic victory. A scattered al Qaeda network becomes more difficult to pin down. Its leadership decreases in influence but spreads in numbers. Front lines become more blurred and terrorist tactics diversify and blend. Terrorism becomes a principal tactic incorporated by states and nonstate actors within a “new” category of “hybrid” threats.⁵

On the operational and tactical side, five interconnected trends confirm an evolution of the terrorists’ strategy and modus operandi: the established connection between terrorist organizations, insurgent groups, and international organized crime; the emergence of homegrown terrorists and “lone wolves”; reliance on complex funding mechanisms; use of sophisticated propaganda; and access to advanced technologies and fascination with unconventional high-impact operations.

While not an absolute first in terrorism history, the growing nexus among terrorist organizations, insurgents, and international crime is possibly the starkest reminder that national and international actors cannot deal with terrorism in watertight compartments.⁶

Military and law enforcement operations become part of a continuum in the counterterrorism response. In some cases, terrorist and illegal activities merge to finance their organizations’ operations.⁷ Specifically, the link between terrorist entities and drug trafficking is

a well-known concern, with connections stretching from South America to West and North Africa, Europe, the Balkans, Central Asia, and Afghanistan.⁸ Among others, these activities and connections give terrorists wider autonomy, making them less dependent on “external” support from sponsor nations, reducing the reach and leverage of any international response.

Besides financial support, it is the operational cooperation between these various criminal organizations that is most worrisome. Training, experience, and lessons learned are often shared between these groups to improve tactics, techniques, and materiel.⁹ This phenomenon is particularly present in so called ungoverned spaces,¹⁰ which are used by nonstate actors to establish training camps to pursue indoctrination and develop operational capacity. Ungoverned or undergoverned spaces attract criminal groups, insurgents, and terrorists alike, and states harboring such territories are either unwilling or unable to disrupt or interfere with the groups’ activities, albeit claiming sovereignty before international law. The exploitation of this “sovereignty gap” poses increasing threats to the international community due to rapidly developing communications and travel patterns, as the history of Afghanistan under Taliban rule most infamously proves.

In the last 5 years, another growing concern has been the emergence of homegrown terrorists. In the words of Lucio Caracciolo, “terrorists don’t have to come to us. They already are among us.”¹¹ Homegrown terrorists may range from lone-wolf individuals to “self-recruited, self-trained, and self-executing” groups with few or no connections to an international conspiracy, to groups living in a particular country who have trained with and maintained connections to the al Qaeda network, and finally to al Qaeda “sleepers” aiming to conduct medium- or long-term actions in a particular country.¹²

Homegrown terrorists are difficult to identify, detect, and stop. The fact that they engage in suicide attacks is a matter of greater concern to national governments.¹³ Their threat is comparatively low, but their impact on the public psyche is high.¹⁴ Through isolated, unrelated, low technology, and low-cost actions, terrorists achieve devastating societal effects well beyond their immediate victims.¹⁵ Stressed neighborhoods lose confidence in the very authorities in charge of their protection, the rhetoric becomes polarized, and escalating resentment fuels terrorist recruitment.¹⁶

In terms of finance, the growing nexus between terrorism and organized crime offers terrorist entities new and alternative financing opportunities.¹⁷ While remarkable results have been achieved in countering terrorism funding thanks to increased bilateral and multinational cooperation of law enforcement agencies and organizations,¹⁸ the suppression of funding channels traceable to terrorist groups remains particularly difficult due to their constant technical

evolution and dissemination.¹⁹ In recent years, income deriving from smuggling, money laundering, and human trafficking has grown steadily, and kidnapping of foreigners has become one of the most lucrative funding sources for international terrorists.

In parallel, to face the national and international response and maintain support and recruitment, the volume and sophistication of al Qaeda's communications have increased. There are now thousands of Web sites, in many languages, devoted to "virtual proselytism." Terrorist groups have abandoned old tape or DVD production and dissemination and turned to the use of the Internet to radicalize their followers around the globe and instruct them on the means of violence.²⁰

This extensive use of the Internet has led counterterrorism experts to consider al Qaeda and its affiliates as primary "customers" of Web forums and social media, and therefore not keen to engage in disruptive actions that could affect their own ability to reach out to members and recruits. However, as technology is evolving and becoming more available, the terrorist threat to cyber space is also increasing. In a video presented by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, al Qaeda calls for an "electronic jihad," urging "covert mujahidin" to launch cyber attacks against American critical infrastructure.²¹

The renewed interest in cyber-terrorist activities is consistent with al Qaeda's use of, and fascination with, high-impact operations. In this respect, al Qaeda's longstanding interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), specifically of a chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) nature, is also well known. So far, the efforts of terrorist groups to acquire or use these weapons and materials have been sporadic and mostly unsuccessful.²² For the foreseeable future, militant jihadist groups will only be able to produce rudimentary radiological weapons (that is, "dirty bombs") that would cause great panic and disruption but only limited casualties. However, even if the use of WMDs remains confined to the high end of the threat spectrum, in the words of Harold Agnew, "If you believe that it is easy to make an improvised nuclear weapon, you are wrong. But if you believe it is impossible for a terrorist group to make an improvised nuclear bomb, you are dead."²³

With terrorism becoming increasingly globalized and hybrid, unity of effort and comprehensive approaches become the key paradigms for all counterterrorism actors. Put differently, global terrorist networks take advantage of national and international legal loopholes and operational gray areas. In a field as dynamic as counterterrorism, the lens of collective interest must replace the prism of national perspectives. Efforts should be joined in mutually reinforcing ways, beyond political entrenchments and doctrinal boundaries. In the decade-plus

that followed the 9/11 attacks, NATO proved its ability to contribute to the global fight against terror. Mindful of its assets and mandates, NATO has succeeded in identifying its added value to specific aspects of the terrorism challenge. The result has been a series of substantial counterterrorism activities whose impact, however, has been mitigated by the lack of an agreed policy defining NATO's rightful place among international counterterrorism actors.

NATO's Response

At the core of NATO's reticence in codifying its decade-long contribution to the fight against terrorism in an agreed policy lies a definition challenge. The incidence, nature, scope, and, above all, perception of the threat posed by terrorists vary enormously among countries and regions.²⁴ To provide a common definition of what constitutes a terrorist is an exercise of drafting acrobatics, impossible even for the most skilled and experienced NATO policymaker.

Yet the very nature of NATO—a political-military organization for the collective defense of its members' territories and populations from external attacks—drives its need to identify where an attack is coming from and who the enemy is. In the case of the fight against terrorism, the Alliance instinctively needs to define who and where the terrorists actually are. Terrorism, like war, is ultimately a *means* to an end, not an end per se. For many years, in the collective psyche of NATO's integrated structure, to fight against terrorism without identifying the adversary was like fighting war itself. The lack of a clear opponent denied planners and diplomats a critical element of NATO's defense paradigm. Consistent with this logic, the 1999 Strategic Concept made only indirect reference to acts of terrorism as one of many security challenges and risks together with sabotage, organized crime, and the disruption of the flow of vital resources.²⁵ On the other hand, the nature of terrorist acts has long been perceived, especially in Europe, as deriving from “internal” motives—from separatism to political extremism and anarchism.

It is therefore not surprising that, beyond its solidarity significance, at the basis of NATO's Article 5 invocation following the 9/11 attacks was the determination that the strikes were directed *from abroad*. Al Qaeda's claim of responsibility and the Taliban regime's refusal to hand over Osama bin Laden to U.S. authorities provided incarnation and direction to the global terrorist threat.

This acted as a potent catalyst for NATO's contribution to the global fight against terrorism. However, NATO has preferred to avoid a potentially loaded political debate on its role in counterterrorism, opting for a more pragmatic approach. Through its operational commitments—first and foremost in Afghanistan but also in the Mediterranean Sea, in the Indian

Ocean and, not to be overlooked, in protecting high-visibility events such as the Greek Olympic Games in 2004 and the NATO summit in Riga in 2006²⁶—NATO has accumulated considerable cross-cutting experience in counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, intelligence-sharing, and technology development.

In 2001, NATO launched its first ever antiterror operation—*Eagle Assist*, whereby NATO AWACS (airborne warning and control system) aircraft were sent to help patrol the skies over the United States for 8 months. In 2002, the Alliance launched its second counterterrorism operation, *Active Endeavour*, which is ongoing. In May 2002, NATO foreign ministers decided at their meeting in Reykjavik that the Alliance would operate when and where necessary to fight terrorism, therefore settling the out-of-area debate and paving the way for future engagements with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

Action on the ground was accompanied by capacity initiatives. At the Alliance's 2002 Prague Summit, Heads of State and Government adopted a package aimed at adapting NATO to the challenge of terrorism and including the following: a Military Concept for Defense against Terrorism;²⁷ a Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (PAP-T); five nuclear, biological, and chemical defense initiatives; protection of civilian populations including a Civil-Emergency Planning Action Plan; the NATO Response Force; and the Prague Capabilities Commitment. At the 2004 Istanbul Summit, the Allies endorsed the creation of the Defense Against Terrorism (DAT) Program of Work (POW) to improve the response to new security challenges posed by asymmetric threats. Intelligence-sharing was enhanced including through the establishment of a Terrorist Threat Intelligence Unit, which became part of the new intelligence structure that was set up as part of NATO's ongoing intelligence reform efforts.

Meanwhile, the increasing complexity and inevitable realization that the fight against global terror was a long-term struggle pushed NATO policymakers to look at terrorism from a different perspective.

In endorsing the Comprehensive Political Guidance at the Riga Summit in November 2006, NATO recognized that “terrorism . . . and the spread of weapons of mass destruction are likely to be the principal threats to the Alliance over the next 10 to 15 years.”²⁸ With the 2010 Strategic Concept agreed at Lisbon in November 2010, NATO has completed its intellectual and political evolution vis-à-vis the terrorist threat. Terrorism is no longer an operational or tactical dimension of asymmetric warfare; it has become a “direct threat to the citizens of NATO countries and to international stability and prosperity, more broadly.”²⁹ Collective defense blends with the broader concept of collective security, opening new perspectives for NATO in the fight against terrorism and placing new emphasis on the need to define the Alliance's role and contribution.

The New NATO Policy Guidelines on Counterterrorism

At the basis of the policy guidelines rests the clear mandate from the Lisbon Summit. The guidelines reiterate the Strategic Concept statement that terrorism constitutes a direct threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries and to international stability and prosperity more broadly and that it will remain a threat in the Allies' territory as well as in areas of strategic importance to NATO.³⁰

In terms of NATO's role in counterterrorism, the guidelines implicitly acknowledge the absence of a specific policy since NATO's post-9/11 engagement in the global fight against terrorism, while claiming NATO's significant contribution.³¹

The guidelines place an accent on the danger that "conducive environments" present in terms of the spread of terrorism and terrorist safe havens, extremist ideologies, intolerance, and fundamentalism. They also focus on terrorists' use of conventional and unconventional means, as well as on the risk of terrorist access to CBRN materials and weapons. In doing so, the guidelines manage to ably define their realm of application in terms of terrorist means and center of gravity without entering into a controversial attempt to provide a shared definition of terrorism.

The Good News

As the new guidelines unfold, describing and defining the operational framework in which the Alliance will develop its contribution to countering terrorism, they translate into policy NATO's innovative approach to security introduced by the 2010 Strategic Concept.

To begin with, the guidelines have the great merit of not shying away from the intrinsic complexity of dealing with the terrorist threat and recognize from the outset that the primary responsibility in countering terrorism rests with "civilian" law enforcement and judicial authorities. The key word in this respect is *complementarity*. With its new policy guidance, NATO accepts that its role in countering the threat complements, and is complemented by, the mandates of other national and international organizations.³²

Another important aspect of the guidelines is the introduction of a broader concept of countering terrorism, through the inclusion of the notions of prevention and resilience.³³ In enlarging the concept, the guidelines expand the extent of NATO's contribution to countering terrorism, as defined by the Lisbon Summit Declaration, beyond deterrence, defense, disruption, and protection.³⁴ This is also consistent with NATO's approach to emerging security challenges, as introduced by the Alliance Cyber-Defense policy.³⁵

Also worthy of notice is the inclusion, at the end of paragraph 4, of the guidelines' goal to enable a more effective use of NATO resources through clear direction, enhanced coordination, and greater consistency of efforts. This reference is intended to meet the Strategic Concept's commitment to "continuous reform towards a more effective, efficient and flexible Alliance, so that our [NATO] taxpayers get the most security for the money they invest in defense."³⁶

The stated aim of NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counterterrorism is to move beyond a mere restatement of the Strategic Concept and to avoid defining NATO's role in counterterrorism in a way that may limit its contribution. The aim is to anchor NATO's counterterrorism activities to its stated *core tasks* of collective defense, crisis management, and collective security, thus reaffirming its ideological adherence to a comprehensive approach to crisis management.³⁷ This is an important aspect of the guidelines. As pointed out by Dr. Jamie Shea, NATO's Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, "The Alliance has learned to work with the United Nations and its agencies on the ground to integrate civilian priorities into *military* tasks [emphasis added]."³⁸ The new policy guidelines on counterterrorism confirm NATO's ambition to extend both the concept and the practice of its Comprehensive Approach to emerging security challenges.

In terms of concept, the guidelines recognize civilian leadership in countering terrorism, thus inverting the Comprehensive Approach equation to focus on NATO's value added to non-military priorities.³⁹ In practice, the guidelines' aim is to focus not only on improved "awareness" of the threat and on providing "adequate capabilities" to address it, but also on "engaging" with other partners at the national or international level. To quote Dr. Shea again, in the future, "NATO's military organization and capabilities . . . will need to be coordinated with domestic police, health, and emergency management agencies and organizations like the European Union. So, NATO's progress in practically embracing the new challenges will depend upon its capacity for *effective networking* [emphasis added]."⁴⁰

Against these premises, the new approach of the policy guidelines consists in providing strategic and risk-informed direction to NATO's counterterrorism activities based on clearly identified principles and value-added initiatives to enhance prevention and resilience.

As far as principles are concerned, the policy guidelines rest on three pillars: compliance with international law, NATO support to Allies, and nonduplication and complementarity.⁴¹

Compliance with International Law. From the United Nations (UN) Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights down to the UN Counter-Terrorism Strategy, Conventions, Protocols, and Resolutions, NATO's counterterrorism policy remains on safe ground by referencing to the UN legal framework.⁴² The key message is that NATO's counterterrorism

strategy will remain firmly anchored to the principles of adherence to international rule of law and respect of human rights. Introducing compliance to international law as the first principle guiding NATO's counterterrorism policy represents not only a legal commitment, but also an important political statement of values.

NATO Support to Allies. In this case, the accent of the new policy guidelines rests on NATO's supporting role. As it has been clear from the outset in the guidelines,⁴³ the Alliance does not aspire to a lead role in counterterrorism, recognizing the primary responsibility of individual nations, in this case NATO's allied members, for protecting their populations and territories. This approach has been directly imported from NATO's Civil Emergency Planning, from whom the Alliance's approach to counterterrorism derives many of its principles, experience, and expertise.⁴⁴ Indicative of this "subsidiary" role is the explicit provision that NATO's support can be provided only upon specific request. There is therefore no automaticity in what NATO can do or when it can do it.⁴⁵

Nonduplication and Complementarity. This last principle is further elaborated by the policy's commitment to coordinate and leverage NATO resources with those of other nations and international organizations. The focus of NATO activities is shifted to targeted programs and areas in which NATO has unique assets that can support Allies' efforts in the fight against terrorism. This provides the guidelines with a logical segue from defining the aim and principles of NATO's role in countering terrorism to the substance of its key areas of engagement.⁴⁶

The guidelines accomplish this by recalling decades of NATO expertise and experience, developed in many areas such as civil defense, critical infrastructure protection, intelligence-sharing, air defense, airspace and maritime security, nonproliferation and CBRN response, special operations, and force protection.

This time, the good news introduced by the policy is not one of innovation, but one of consistency and consolidation. For many years, NATO's contribution to counterterrorism has been ancillary to "mainstream" activities. Following the 9/11 attacks, NATO's response included the decision, taken at the 2002 Prague Summit, to "adapt" the Alliance to the challenge of terrorism and make its assets and capabilities available to the fight against terrorism.⁴⁷ This has been the case, for instance, with Civil Emergency Planning (CEP), the discipline that—with the exclusion of NATO's operational engagements—has supported the Alliance's counterterrorism efforts more than any other. Specifically, the CEP contribution, in terms of CBRN response and consequence management, is the direct fallout of its civil defense role in mitigating the effects of a possible nuclear, biological, or chemical war. Equally, most of the planning capacity and advances in the area of critical infrastructure protection are due to CEP's role in supporting war

effort logistics and in ensuring the continuity of civil society. Similar considerations belong to NATO's role in air-space management and maritime security, which are immediately linked to the primary military defense mandate of the Alliance.

With the inclusion in the 2010 Strategic Concept of terrorism as one of the defining challenges of NATO's security environment, the Alliance has achieved conceptual consolidation by moving the fight against terrorism from the margins of its strategic debate to the center of its security agenda.⁴⁸ With the policy guidelines, the Alliance has achieved consolidation. The new counterterrorism guidelines close the strategy loop by bringing all counterterrorism activities under a single policy umbrella. The potential of this approach is significant if we consider that the new policy guidelines concentrate the Alliance's efforts in three areas where NATO has a long track record of success in supporting its members and partners: awareness, capabilities, and engagement.⁴⁹

Consistent with the guidelines' ambition to cover the whole spectrum of the terrorist threat from prevention to resilience, NATO realizes the importance of shared awareness among Allies. The ability to anticipate intentions and mitigate effects of terrorist attacks depends on the capacity to understand the real nature of the terrorist threat against potential national and international targets and the vulnerabilities therein.⁵⁰ By its own nature, NATO provides a privileged forum of engagement in which Allies can carry out consultations, exchange intelligence, and share and receive assessments on the terrorist threat environment.⁵¹ The key word in this case is trust, and admittedly there are few if any multilateral organizations and forums as reliable as NATO when it comes to sharing sensitive information and analysis. NATO's ability to make its structures and processes available to its members and partners is indeed an opportunity not to be missed.

Decades of military engagements, policy, planning, and collective defense experience make NATO a unique multiplier of Allies' and partners' capabilities. This is as valid for NATO operations as it is for the Alliance contribution to countering terrorism. Capability development and technological innovation, as a result of addressing emerging hybrid threats and facing out-of-area challenges, are not endstates. The policy guidelines recognize this, as well as NATO's value added in developing, maintaining, and providing adequate capabilities to prevent, protect against, and respond to terrorist threats on the basis of the level of ambition defined by NATO's Political Guidance. In doing so, a critical and direct connection is established between NATO's role in countering terrorism and NATO's Defense Planning Process (NDPP).⁵² It is the NDPP that allows NATO to identify, develop, and muster the necessary capabilities to fulfill its missions. The NDPP represents the indispensable interface between the individual capability planning of the Allies and

NATO's security mandates. Extending the NDPP to include capabilities in support of countering terrorism ensures substance to the guidelines' policy aspirations.

The enduring and evolving nature of this effort is further reinforced by the policy commitment to maintain NATO's counterterrorism operational capacity through lessons learned; the development of training, education, and exercises based on threat scenarios; and the expansion of niche capabilities such as those available through NATO's Special Operations Headquarters (NSHQ).⁵³ Importantly, the inclusion of nonmilitary capabilities in support of Civil Emergency Planning or critical infrastructure protection completes the range of unique NATO assets in support of countering terrorism.⁵⁴

At the crossroads between sharing awareness and providing capabilities stands NATO's commitment to engage with partners and the international community. At a meeting prior to the 2012 summit in Chicago, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh-Rasmussen and President Barack Obama agreed that NATO has become a hub for a global network of security partners that have served alongside NATO forces in Afghanistan, Libya, and Kosovo. Recognizing the important contributions provided by partner nations, the Secretary General and President Obama welcomed the recent decision by Allies to invite 13 partner nations to Chicago for an unprecedented meeting to discuss ways to further broaden and deepen NATO's cooperation with partner nations.⁵⁵ As NATO will look for specific areas of engagement, counterterrorism becomes an unquestionable candidate.

Committed to a holistic approach to countering terrorism, NATO places a premium on its ability to strengthen outreach and cooperation among Allies, with partners both close and far, and between international organizations, specifically the United Nations, European Union, and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).⁵⁶

While this is no real news and NATO's archives are full of unfulfilled vows of increased cooperation and coordination, the policy guidelines introduce an element of healthy realism by remaining on the safe but reachable ground of enhanced consultations and more systematic practical cooperation with partners. Recognizing indirectly the current limits of NATO's institutional cooperation, the new policy guidelines offer to engage with partners "in accordance with existing mechanisms" and "consistently with NATO policies" in areas such as capacity-building, training, preparedness and crisis management, and scientific cooperation.⁵⁷

Finally, the policy guidelines devote their last two paragraphs to NATO's response. The first, paragraph 13, essentially reaffirms the North Atlantic Council's authority in providing guidance to NATO's counterterrorism efforts and activities, and tasks the Terrorism Task Force to report on implementation on an annual basis.

More consequential is the last paragraph. In it, three short sentences reveal first-class policy and drafting skills by capturing the essence of four key assumptions of NATO's response to counterterrorism. First, terrorism has never been a static challenge, and NATO's efforts to counter it will remain dynamic and adaptive. Second, while recognizing the primacy of other national and international organizations, NATO will always be ready to lead counterterrorism efforts, in general or in specific areas, should the situation warrant. Third, notwithstanding the many facets of NATO's actual and potential contribution, it is Allies' capabilities that will make the difference in its response to terrorism, something that NATO defense planners will need to keep in mind when applying the concepts and principles of Smart Defense to the full spectrum of Alliance capabilities.

Fourth and final, the last 11 words of the document open and close a sensitive debate that is germane to the whole of NATO's emerging security challenges, from cyber defense to energy security: the extent to which the Article 5 collective defense commitment applies to the terrorist threat. In the case of cyber attacks, Allies have stumbled against the "attribution" hurdle. In the case of energy security, the nonmilitary nature of possible energy coercion or intimidation has led more than one Ally to question the very competence and mandate of NATO. When it comes to terrorism, both arguments may apply, with the additional temptation of setting magnitude thresholds for an attack to "be eligible" for Article 5 invocation.

In this case, however, NATO brings to the table the power of precedent. NATO has invoked Article 5 following a terrorist attack. In fact, the September 12 declaration is the only occasion in the history of the Alliance of Article 5 invocation.⁵⁸ Therefore, when the policy guidelines state, in the very last sentence, that "collective defense remains subject to decision by the North Atlantic Council," one should not be misguided in thinking that Allies have decided to delay the debate through an *if and when* approach. The contrary is true. The sheer mention of collective defense in NATO's policy guidelines on counterterrorism should be read like a stark warning to enemies and a reassurance to allies: if NATO did it once, it can do it again.

The Bad News

The overall judgment on the new policy guidelines can, and should, be positive. However, three "shadow areas" remain and will need to be clarified for the policy to express all its potential. Unsurprisingly, one of them is related to NATO cooperation, or lack thereof, with the European Union (EU). The second is a challenge common to all emerging security challenges, from nonproliferation to cyber defense: the need to reconcile the *horizontal* and cross-cutting nature of the terrorist threat with the *vertical* reality of NATO's structures. The third is the Alliance's

need to establish a clearer link between its political-military nature and the fundamentally non-military, counterterrorism constituencies within nations.

The Looming Shadow of NATO-EU Cooperation. These are the days when almost every debate on the future of NATO, European defense, or transatlantic relations writ large includes in its title “in an age of austerity.” Experts concur that the lack of real cooperation between the two organizations generates the single largest waste of transatlantic defense resources, and worse, of security capital. At regular intervals, summits and ministerial communiqués call for stronger NATO-EU cooperation.⁵⁹ However, no solutions appear on the horizon due to a mix of political obstruction, bureaucratic resignation, and leadership hesitation. NATO’s Chicago Summit Declaration confirms this deadlock. While recognizing the importance of strengthening the NATO-EU strategic partnership, the Chicago Declaration steers away from clear commitments or taskings, focusing instead on operational cooperation and capability development. While aspiring to “broaden political consultations,” the inter-institutional dialogue has been reduced to an individual relationship between the NATO Secretary General and the EU High Representative.⁶⁰

The accepted narrative is that NATO-EU relations work well on the ground and that the lack of strategic dialogue is compensated for by more pragmatic approaches at the operational level, from Kosovo to Afghanistan and from the Gulf of Aden to Libya. However, such an approach would be particularly risky in the realm of counterterrorism. It is clear that terrorists do not operate as self-contained individuals or groups. Be it the result of strategic partnerships or simple shared approaches,⁶¹ the growing link among terrorist groups, insurgents, and international criminality requires a networked effort by security, law enforcement, and justice authorities at both the national and international level. The risk is that NATO-EU theater-level cooperation may not work outside NATO-led operations, where the Alliance is engaged with thousands of deployed forces. In other words, it would be extremely difficult to promote NATO-EU practical cooperation in areas such as counterterrorism, where the EU and its member states are not *demandeurs* of NATO’s contribution. To make things more complicated, the policy guidelines further inhibit NATO’s engagement ambitions with the EU by introducing, in footnote and in text, the condition that NATO’s activities related to international organizations will be conducted “in accordance with the Comprehensive Approach Action Plan (CAAP) and the relevant decisions.”⁶² The reference to the CAAP is code language for another standard proviso of NATO-EU official texts known as “the agreed framework,” limiting the cooperation between the two organizations to the areas and conditions determined by the Berlin Plus Agreement⁶³ and the related Security Agreement and Exchange of Letters.

The agreed framework de facto excludes Cyprus from any possible exchange of classified information between the two organizations.⁶⁴ On the EU side, the political and legal argument that the European Union is a “single entity” that includes Cyprus prevents variable geometry relations. The resulting deadlock does not bode well for any substantial cooperation beyond mere exchange of information on activities such as training and exercises, protection of civilian populations against CBRN attacks, and civil emergency planning.

Unfortunately, there is no easy way out of this situation and NATO and EU staffs’ creativity will have to adapt to the pace of political evolution, hoping that breakthroughs are not preceded by loud explosions or images of chaos and suffering innocents.

A Round Peg in a Square Hole: The Challenges of a “Matrix Management” Approach to Counterterrorism. To segue into the second challenge the policy guidelines did not address, one could paraphrase a famous Henry Kissinger remark on Europe. The establishment of a counterterrorism section at NATO headquarters should answer the question: “Whom do I call when I want to speak to counterterrorism in NATO?” However, this leaves the door open to another European-inspired telephone joke: “Dial one for critical infrastructure protection; dial two for civil emergency planning; dial three for intelligence-sharing,” and so on. In other words, the policy guidelines do not support conceptual and strategic consolidation with structural amalgamation and executive consistency. The guidelines make no reference to the existence and role of NATO’s counterterrorism section and leave to the Terrorism Task Force (TTF) the task to report to council. Given that the TTF is an informal coordinating body with no real executive powers,⁶⁵ it does not introduce a “matrix management”⁶⁶ approach to NATO’s counterterrorism activities.⁶⁷ NATO remains essentially a functional organization, and the policy leaves a management vacuum that reflects the enduring territorial resistance among various parts of the NATO International Staff organization and the struggle to reconcile the *horizontal* and cross-cutting nature of the terrorist threat with the *vertical* reality of NATO’s structures. Unless specified elsewhere, NATO’s counterterrorism section has no authority to define or at least deconflict activities and resources⁶⁸ for the execution of the policy guidelines across the NATO spectrum. To use a fitting military analogy, the guidelines do not clarify NATO’s command and control structure for counterterrorism. The long-term risk of this approach is that counterterrorism activities will remain byproducts of other, predominantly military, mainstream activities of the Alliance, reducing the overall impact of NATO’s counterterrorism policy.

Connecting to the Homeland Constituency. On the opposite side of the command and control spectrum sits the third unresolved challenge of NATO’s policy guidelines on counterterrorism: the absence within NATO of a homeland security constituency. Currently at NATO,

only the Civil-Emergency Planning Committee and its subgroup on Civil Protection provide a forum for a number of national homeland security representatives. However, representation in these bodies is not very homogeneous, ranging from civil defense organizations, to civil protection agencies, to homeland security departments. The result is a lack of a coherent vision of the mandate of these committees and, as far as counterterrorism is concerned, the absence of authoritative national counterparts. The importance of this aspect should not be underestimated for at least two reasons. First, counterterrorism is intrinsically linked to a nation's territory and populations. Citizens expect their national and local authorities to protect their lives and property from terrorist attacks. Conversely, one of the destabilizing aims of terrorist actions is to undermine national sovereignty, seen as the government's ability to control the national territory and to guarantee security. This creates a responsibility and trust relationship between nations and their citizens that cannot—and should not—be transferred to a “third party” multinational organization. It therefore becomes crucial for NATO to establish a closer relationship between the support it provides to the counterterrorism efforts of Allies and partners and their respective populations.

The second important aspect is related to the nature of NATO as an organization. Even in its primary military defense responsibility, NATO has no direct access to all the necessary capabilities. With few exceptions, most notably for political consultations and command and control, NATO's assets and capabilities belong to its members. It is therefore not a coincidence that its planning process (the NDPP) represents one of the pillars of its integrated military structure. Through the NDPP, nations coordinate and apportion their capabilities to the Alliance's level of ambition. In case of need, a Transfer of Authority (ToA) mechanism allows national forces to fall under the control of NATO's Supreme Commander. In recent years, as a result of NATO's operational experience and the development of a comprehensive approach to operations, the NDPP was expanded to include selected nonmilitary capabilities, mainly in the area of logistics, stabilization, and reconstruction. However, no provisions have been implemented concerning the possible transfer of these capabilities under NATO command should a situation warrant. If and when they are made available by national organizations, civilian capabilities will always remain under national control. This requires a considerable effort to ensure national contributions to NATO's requirements,⁶⁹ and this challenge would extend also to counterterrorism assets. While the policy guidelines succeed in establishing a fundamental link between NATO's counterterrorism capabilities and the NDPP, they fall short of creating the equally important nexus between NATO and those organizations responsible for implementing national policies and controlling national assets. Mediated access through NATO's Defense Policy and Planning

Committee, the Deputy Permanent Representatives Committee, or the Policy and Partnership Committee would load this relationship with the burden and challenges of national interagency processes.

More Good News?

None of these shortcomings should belittle the contribution of the policy guidelines on counterterrorism efforts to NATO's continuous transformation process into a collective security organization. The mere fact that the Allies reached consensus on a role for NATO in countering terrorism is possibly the best news of all, irrespective of the caveats and nuances included in the guidelines.

More importantly, the guidelines jump-started a dynamic process that will culminate with the development of an "Action Plan to further enhance NATO's ability to prevent, deter and respond to terrorism" through initiatives that will improve NATO's threat awareness, capabilities, and engagement.⁷⁰ As work on the Action Plan progresses along these lines, many ongoing activities, already mentioned by the policy itself, will be consolidated into a single consistent program. Others will require new approaches and initiatives, and in identifying these, NATO policymakers have the opportunity to design new activities and adapt structures to optimize NATO's contribution to counterterrorism.

Awareness, capability, and engagement are mutually reinforcing dimensions of a broad counterterrorism effort. Partnerships multiply these capabilities and increase international awareness. Shared intelligence and strategic communications require outreach. Training and education are the result of continuous analysis and assessment. Naturally, some initiatives will fall under one category or the other. However, the opposite is also true. Much of NATO's value added in countering terrorism rests in the Alliance ability to bring together awareness, capabilities, and engagement so that the total is larger than the sum of its parts.

In line with these considerations, this report will focus on six cross-cutting proposals that should find their way into the Action Plan. The table on page 19 summarizes the potential value added of the proposals to the three dimensions of NATO's counterterrorism policy guidelines.

Apply Net Assessment to Counterterrorism. Shared awareness is a critical component of any counterterrorism strategy. We need to understand the terrorists' motives and anticipate their intentions if we are to plan effective prevention and response campaigns. We need to also be aware of our societal and material vulnerabilities to design effective mitigation and resilience plans. More importantly, all these components must be cross-analyzed to identify weaknesses, allocate resources, and create opportunities. This exercise of comparative analysis is inspired by

Table. Counterterrorism Policy Guidelines Key Areas and Potential Value Added			
	Awareness	Capabilities	Engagement
Net Assessment	Increased shared awareness and prevention. Develop scenarios and assess impact of terrorist threat.	Feed CT-related capabilities into NATO Defense Planning Process.	Collaborative effort involving CTS, SAC, IU, CCOMC, ACT, DAT-CoE, nations. Training and exercises.
Strategic Communications	Increased shared awareness and prevention. Effective messaging.	ACT Human Environment Capabilities project.	Outreach to ACT, DAT-CoE, HUMINT CoE, civil and military expertise, and public opinion.
Homeland Security Constituency/ Executive Role for the Terrorism Task Force	Homeland Security Committee. Engage national civil CT authorities in Ally and partner nations.	Feed CT-related capabilities into NATO Defense Planning Process. Access to national civil resources.	Engage national civil CT authorities in Ally and partner nations. Best practices. Training and exercises.
Border Security Initiative	Increased information-sharing among participants.	Maritime security operations. Support FRONTEX, OSCE, and UNODC.	Capacity-building. Best practices. Practical engagement with the EU.
Post-ISAF Counterterrorism Partnership Framework	Increased shared awareness and prevention. Coordinate strategies.	Capacity-building. Resource multiplier. Feed CT-related capabilities into NATO Defense Planning Process. Transfer COIN experience into CT.	Innovative “functional” partnership framework. Over 50 Allies and partners. Best practices. Training and exercises.
Participate in GCTF	Increased shared awareness and prevention. Coordinated strategies.	Resource multiplier. Innovative solutions.	Over 30 nations + EU involved. Opportunity to engage indirectly with EU. Best practices. Capacity-building. Training and exercises.

the concept of Net Assessment, developed in the United States during the Cold War to “provide an even-handed look at both sides of complex military competitions.”⁷¹ While applying Net Assessment to asymmetric threats such as terrorism in a multilateral environment is a complex effort, it has the potential to yield significant results for NATO’s contribution to countering terrorism. Successful Net Assessment is the synthesis of close-hold and open source data. It relies on intelligence input, expert analysis, and public information. In this respect, NATO is most certainly a privileged environment where intelligence-sharing, cross-cutting expertise, and lessons learned come together. Threat and vulnerability scenarios can be developed in support of national preparedness efforts and multinational exercises designed to improve responses and consequence management.

The policy guidelines have already indicated that enhanced intelligence-sharing and strategic analysis will be at the center of NATO’s strategy. The Alliance has greatly improved the quantity and quality of its intelligence analysis through a reform that culminated in 2010 with the establishment of the Intelligence Steering Board (ISB) and the creation of an Intelligence Unit (IU) at NATO headquarters. Downstream from intelligence, NATO’s Strategic Analysis Capability has introduced Net Assessment methodologies in staff work, although its focus is still more “geographical” than functional. A number of NATO organizations, such as the headquarters’ Situation Center and the Allied Command Operations’ Civil-Military Fusion Center have the ability to collect and combine large amounts of open-source information. Greater effort should go to ensuring that all these assets work together consistently and coherently.

The Action Plan should ensure that coordinated net assessments of the global terrorist threat and of NATO’s response (and potential responses) are produced on a yearly basis. These reports should also become the basis for designing regular counterterrorism training and exercises and act as an authoritative contribution to the NDPP.

Develop Effective Counterterrorism Strategic Communications. The policy guidelines contemplate strategic communications as a contribution to “promote common understanding of [NATO’s] counterterrorism role as part of a broader international effort.”⁷² As important and innovative as it is to increase a shared awareness of NATO’s contribution, the role of strategic communications in NATO’s counterterrorism efforts should not be limited to mere outreach.

As a means to an end, terrorism is often used to spread a destabilizing message. Its impact on public opinion is immediate. Social media and the 24/7 news cycle provide terrorists with unprecedented opportunities to disseminate their narrative, boast about their successes, and expose their victims’ vulnerabilities. Media coverage of terrorist acts becomes an unintentional

ally of terrorist groups, forcing national and international authorities into defensive postures to maintain public confidence and support.

In countering terrorism, much like countering insurgency, strategic communications become the instrument to fight for and win public opinion.⁷³ Terrorist actions and rhetoric aim to provoke overreactions that undermine the authorities' credibility and weaken the democratic foundations of nations. The counterterrorism message must be unwavering and unequivocal. Above all, it should be credible. NATO should develop a Counterterrorism Strategic Communications Strategy that speaks with equal force to Allies' public opinion and to possible adversaries. As counterterrorism and counterinsurgency share methodologies and lessons learned, NATO's experience in marshalling public support within and for its operations could be an asset in countering terrorists' propaganda. Mindful of General David Petraeus's "under-promise and over-deliver" guidance for Afghanistan,⁷⁴ NATO's Counterterrorism Strategic Communications Strategy should bring together the doctrinal and conceptual contributions of NATO's Center of Excellence for the Defense Against Terrorism (CoE/DAT) in Ankara, Turkey,⁷⁵ as well as those of national civilian counterterrorism organizations. In doing so, NATO must engage with its target audience in a two-way communications process through "strategic listening" opportunities.⁷⁶ NATO's Allied Command Transformation project on Human Environment Capabilities is a clear example of the importance of bringing together strategic communications, civil-military interaction, cultural advisors, and the Comprehensive Approach when facing emerging security challenges.⁷⁷

Establish a Homeland Security Constituency in NATO and Foster the Executive Role of the Terrorism Task Force. Elsewhere in this paper, the lack of a "homeland security" constituency at NATO and the challenges of applying matrix management to counterterrorism have been described as policy shortfalls with possible negative effects not only on the process, but also on the substance of NATO's contribution to countering terrorism. This is valid at the decisionmaking and executive levels. The guidance does not identify or indicate which NATO bodies will receive delegated authority from the North Atlantic Council to oversee the implementation of the policy. In parallel, at staff level, NATO headquarters' Terrorism Task Force is only tasked to report on implementation.⁷⁸ Execution remains the responsibility of functional divisions, such as Operations, overseeing civil emergency planning activities; Political Affairs and Security Policy, responsible for political dialogue and outreach; Defense Policy and Planning, in charge of capability planning; and Defense Investment, leading on armament planning and procurement. This functional approach applied to counterterrorism raises a challenge of ambiguous authority.⁷⁹ Even with a well-defined Action Plan, the resources and efforts of these

divisions will focus on their primary functions and customers, to the detriment of NATO's counterterrorism effort.

In a recent article, NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Emerging Security Challenges, Ambassador Gabor Iklody, stated that NATO "must work to break down the bureaucratic stovepipes that stand in the way of consistent action."⁸⁰ The cross-functional nature of today's emerging security challenges calls for a new and more decisive application of the matrix management principles to disciplines such as cyber defense or counterterrorism. Matrix environments are more conducive to innovation and cross-pollination but require clarity of roles and reporting structures.

To support this transformation and minimize risks for NATO's role in countering terrorism, the Action Plan should propose two distinct management solutions.

First, establish a Homeland Security Committee (HSC) under the direct authority of the North Atlantic Council. Unpopular as it may sound in an age of austerity and organizational rationalization, unless an HSC is established at NATO, the Alliance will not be able to engage with authoritative national counterparts and effectively deliver a value-added contribution to the global counterterrorism effort. Under the authority of the HSC, the network provided by NATO's Civil Emergency Planning could be more fully realized to plug into national civilian organizations and resources.

Second, define clear Terms of Reference for the Terrorism Task Force that elevate the body at the Assistant Secretary General level to act as a *matrix guardian* to ensure that the principles of matrix management are applied correctly⁸¹ and include tasking and oversight authority over the implementation of the Action Plan. The Chairman of the TTF should also be the Chair of the Homeland Security Committee to ensure dialogue, transparency, and accountability between staff action and policy decisions. On behalf of the TTF, the counterterrorism section should become NATO's executive agent for counterterrorism-related issues. Its mandate should include an advisory role for counterterrorism resource requirements and allocation.

Promote a NATO Border Security Initiative. The nexus between terrorist groups and criminal networks has further blurred the lines between national responsibility and international response. The patterns of illicit trafficking and proliferation activities overlap with illegal immigration routes and international criminal hubs. Inevitably, sovereign prerogatives and national border controls grow at odds with the global nature of the terrorist threat. Ungoverned and undergoverned spaces on the margins of NATO's territory—from North Africa to the Balkans—expose large parts of Europe to the risk of penetration by terrorist groups, many of whom tailor their logistics to fit the different legislative frameworks.⁸² In 2011, NATO's Allied Maritime Strategy rec-

ognized that the world's seas are an increasingly accessible environment for transnational criminal and terrorist activities,⁸³ and included support to law enforcement and preventing the transport and deployment of weapons of mass destruction among the roles of NATO maritime security.⁸⁴ NATO assets and contributions in patrolling the maritime environment are well known. Today's global financial challenges advocate smarter approaches to pooling capabilities and managing resources. NATO should encourage the launch of a Border Security Initiative (BSI) as a way to increase its value added in an area that is critical to Alliance efforts in countering terrorism and promote closer engagement with partners, especially the European Union and OSCE. The BSI should follow the same template offered by the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)⁸⁵ as a flexible and voluntary framework for participating nations to share information, enhance individual and collective capabilities, and promote capacity-building. Its focus should be on disrupting illegal immigration and trafficking networks, supporting interdiction efforts, collecting and sharing lessons learned, and developing best practices. The BSI would also offer NATO an indirect opportunity to cooperate with, and support, the European border protection agency, FRONTEX.⁸⁶ As FRONTEX is dependent on voluntary commitments by the EU member states, NATO cooperation through a BSI has the potential to complement European capacities and increase the effectiveness of FRONTEX operations.

Develop a “Functional” Counterterrorism Partnership Framework. The history of NATO demonstrates the Alliance's unparalleled capacity to form and sustain operational coalitions. The consistence and duration of ISAF, with more than 50 participating nations and over 10 years of operations, or the speed with which NATO has assembled a coalition around Operation *Unified Protector* in regard to Libya, are but two testimonies of NATO's partnership vocation. It is therefore not a coincidence that two of the most tangible deliverables of NATO's summit in Chicago in May 2012 are partnerships-related. The first, which is intrinsic to ISAF, is NATO's successful effort in persuading “ISAF nations [to] reaffirm their enduring commitment to Afghan security beyond 2014.”⁸⁷ In other words, ISAF partners will continue to work together even after their combat troops have left Afghanistan. The second, more explicit deliverable was a meeting with 13 NATO operational partners.⁸⁸ Indeed, in this case, the form not the substance of the meeting was the true deliverable since it indicated a new way to enhance partnership cooperation within NATO.

The significance of these two decisions is a confirmation that partnerships are a key element of the Cooperative Security paradigm and of the growing post-ISAF notion of the Alliance as the ultimate operational enabler.⁸⁹ It is not a coincidence that in assessing the Chicago Summit, Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, Senior Director for Europe at the National Security Council,

reiterated President Obama's vision of NATO as the emerging hub of a network of global security partners. In her words, "although NATO is regionally-based, we face global challenges, and so partners can play an increasingly important role in ensuring that the Allies can advance their shared interests."⁹⁰ Against this backdrop, counterterrorism becomes an immediate candidate to integrate partners more fully into NATO activities and a new functional Counterterrorism Partnership Framework (CTPF) could provide natural continuity to the deep operational relationship developed with partners through a decade of cooperation in Afghanistan.

The CTPF should move beyond the platform provided by NATO's Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism to become a peer-to-peer counterterrorism forum along the conceptual lines illustrated by the Connected Forces Initiative introduced at Chicago.⁹¹ CTPF should not be an "element" of other partnership initiatives but an example of NATO's enhanced flexibility to address partnership issues in a demand- and substance-driven way.⁹² The CTPF would be self-selecting and organized along the principles of voluntary participation, active contribution (including financial), and functional commitment. In return, the CTPF would allow for more inclusive decisionmaking mechanisms beyond the current Political-Military Framework regulating partners' participation in NATO-led operations.⁹³ Through the CTPF, Allies and partners would bolster NATO as a standard-setting and -enabling platform by bringing together regional approaches and functional solutions.⁹⁴ Above all, the CTPF would allow NATO to preserve and expand its outreach to Asia-Pacific partners who have proven crucial in Afghanistan and will be central to facing emerging security challenges.

Contribute to the Global Counterterrorism Forum. NATO should also contribute to existing communities of interest working on specific counterterrorism initiatives, and in particular to the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) launched in September 2011.⁹⁵ Cochaired by the United States and Turkey, the GCTF recognizes that countering terrorism requires a truly global approach and aims at establishing network-like, dynamic international cooperation to counter terrorism. While facilitating information exchange, the GCTF is intended to improve international and national coordination of counterterrorism efforts and knowledge exchange. Activity of the GCTF is organized around five working groups addressing various related issues such as border security, capacity-building, and the support of weak states and countering radicalization and extremism.⁹⁶ NATO's participation in the GCTF would enhance the relevance of the Alliance's counterterrorism efforts and bring NATO's expertise and experience to the forum.

In principle, NATO's involvement in the GCTF should not be controversial. GCTF co-chairs are NATO Allies. Of the 30 GCTF founding members, only Nigeria, China, Colombia,

and South Africa do not engage in cooperation or in some sort of dialogue with NATO. The presence of the European Union⁹⁷ among the GCTF members should not be a showstopper given Turkey's cochairmanship of the forum.⁹⁸ Opposition by either of these members to NATO's participation in GCTF activities would be difficult to justify politically. Even the argument, common to all emerging security challenges, that NATO's involvement would imply a *militarization* of the issue is unconvincing when applied to counterterrorism. The militarization of terrorism has long preceded any involvement of national or international armed forces or the global War on Terror. Local terrorists have always borrowed tactics and techniques from asymmetric warfare. Insurgents have often joined forces with international terrorism. From training camps to improvised explosive devices, from recruitment to command and control, and to the use of failed, weak, or rogue states, history tells us that the militarization of terrorism is a tactical reality and that denying it would be a strategic mistake. In other words, NATO's engagement with the GCTF is an opportunity neither party should miss.

On a practical level, NATO could contribute to the GCTF while maintaining a low profile. For example, it could participate in selected activities as an observer in accordance with the GCTF assumption that "regional and sub-regional bodies, and non-government experts, will be invited to participate in the appropriate working group(s) and/or working group activities."⁹⁹ Capacity-building, training and exercises, research and technology, best practices, and lessons learned are all areas where NATO has the potential to add value.

Conclusion

The six initiatives mentioned above are only a few examples of the many areas and activities that the Action Plan will have to cover. From intelligence-sharing to capacity-building, from SOF to training, technology, and capabilities, the new NATO policy guidelines mark the beginning of a new phase of NATO's engagement in countering terrorism. However, these initiatives may well be necessary conditions to place counterterrorism at the center of NATO's post-ISAF agenda and NATO at the forefront of the international counterterrorism effort. This does not mean that NATO seeks a leading counterterrorism role, and the policy guidelines are very clear in this respect. Rather, it means that NATO's contribution should be acknowledged and accepted for the added value it brings to the common endeavors. Eleven years after 9/11 and the commencement of operations in Afghanistan, the Allies have come to accept the notion that NATO cannot be the main player in countering terrorism, but it is a player nonetheless.

By recalling the Alliance's many achievements, the policy guidelines formulate a compelling argument for NATO's continued role in counterterrorism and indicate the way ahead. In

doing so, the guidelines mark a successful milestone in the implementation of NATO's 21st-century vision as defined by the 2010 Strategic Concept.

The guidelines, however, represent only a necessary first step into a new era of NATO counterterrorism engagement. Specifically, they define a process, not an endstate. The challenge ahead for NATO policymakers is to define an Action Plan that is more than just a compilation of relevant but discrete initiatives; to assure executive drive and oversight of the policy implementation; to recognize the importance of bringing into NATO a homeland security constituency to establish a direct link between NATO's broader efforts and the Allies' territories and populations; and finally, to better integrate NATO's contribution into the wider national and international counterterrorism effort.

The importance of succeeding in this effort goes beyond the fight against international terrorism. As a common denominator to counterinsurgency, nonproliferation, cyber-defense, and asymmetric warfare, NATO's policy guidelines in countering terrorism offer a new template for its role in facing emerging security challenges and evolving hybrid threats that define the modern security environment in an increasingly unpredictable world.¹⁰⁰

Appendix A. NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism: Aware, Capable and Engaged for a Safer Future (May 21, 2012)*

I. Introduction

1. Terrorism poses a direct threat to the security of the citizens of NATO countries, and to international stability and prosperity more broadly and will remain a threat for the foreseeable future. Terrorists have demonstrated their ability to cross international borders, establish cells, reconnoitre targets and execute attacks. The threat is exacerbated by terrorist groups and individuals that continue to spread to, and in, areas of strategic importance to the Alliance, including Allies' own territory. Modern technology increases the potential impact of terrorist attacks employing conventional and unconventional means, particularly as terrorists seek to acquire chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear (CBRN) capabilities and cyber abilities. Instability or conflict can create an environment conducive to the spread of terrorism, including by fostering extremist ideologies, intolerance and fundamentalism.

2. NATO's response to terrorism has been largely shaped by the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, which prompted Allies to launch Operation *Active Endeavour*, to adopt the Military Concept for Defense against Terrorism (MC472) and to initiate various capability and institutional changes. In the past decade, NATO has made considerable progress in areas of importance to the Alliance such as operations, enhanced intelligence exchange and the development of technology solutions through the Defense against Terrorism Program of Work and the Science for Peace and Security Program.

3. Through the Alliance Strategic Concept, Allies reaffirmed that the Alliance must "deter and defend against emerging security challenges where they threaten the fundamental security of individual Allies or the Alliance as a whole." Allies have, therefore, decided to review NATO's approach to counter-terrorism and to enhance both the political and the military aspects of NATO's contribution to national and international efforts.

4. Allies will do so by capitalizing on NATO's distinct cross-cutting strengths and by identifying the Alliance's value-added contribution to the broad, UN-led international effort to combat terrorism. In defining NATO's overarching approach to terrorism, Allies recognize that most counter terrorism tools remain primarily with national civilian and judicial authorities. Allies acknowledge that other International Organizations have mandates and capabilities that could enhance Allies' efforts to counter terrorism. NATO will

* Source: Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87905.htm>.

place particular emphasis on preventing terrorist attacks and enhancing resilience through contributing to national and international efforts while avoiding unnecessary duplication and respecting the principles of complementarity. Clear direction, enhanced coordination and greater consistency of efforts and activities will enable NATO to use its resources more effectively.

II. Aim

5. The aim of these policy guidelines is to:

- Provide strategic and risk-informed direction to the counter-terrorism activities ongoing across the Alliance as part of NATO's core tasks of collective defence, crisis management and cooperative security.
- Identify the principles to which the Alliance adheres.
- Identify key areas in which the Alliance will undertake initiatives to enhance the prevention of and resilience to acts of terrorism with a focus on improved awareness of the threat, adequate capabilities to address it and engagement with partner countries and other international actors.¹

Following the adoption of these Policy Guidelines, an Action Plan for Implementation will be developed.

III. Principles

6. **Compliance with International Law:** NATO will continue to act in accordance with international law, the principles of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, International Conventions and Protocols against terrorism and relevant UN Resolutions provide the framework for all national and multilateral efforts to combat terrorism, including those conducted by the Alliance.

7. **NATO's Support to Allies:** Individual NATO members have primary responsibility for the protection of their populations and territories against terrorism. Cooperation through NATO can enhance Allies' efforts to prevent, mitigate, respond to, and recover from acts of terrorism. NATO, upon request, may support these efforts.

8. **Non-Duplication and Complementarity:** NATO will promote complementarity with and avoid unnecessary duplication of existing efforts by individual nations or other International

Organizations. NATO will seek to coordinate and leverage its expertise and resources and will focus on targeted programs where it can contribute to and/or reinforce the actions of Allied nations and other international actors, as appropriate.

IV. Key Areas

9. NATO, as an international organization, has unique assets and capabilities that can support Allied efforts in the fight against terrorism. As set out in the aim of these Policy Guidelines, NATO will contribute more effectively to the prevention of terrorism and increase resilience to acts of terrorism. To this end, the Alliance will coordinate and consolidate its counter-terrorism efforts and focus on three main areas, awareness, capabilities and engagement.

10. **Awareness:** NATO will ensure shared awareness of the terrorist threat and vulnerabilities among Allies through consultations, enhanced sharing of intelligence, continuous strategic analysis and assessments in support of national authorities. This will enable Allies and the Alliance to prepare effectively and to take possible mitigating action in the prevention of and response to terrorist attacks. NATO will also promote common understanding of its counter-terrorism role as part of a broader international effort through engagement and strategic communications.

11. **Capabilities:** NATO has acquired much valuable expertise in countering asymmetric threats and in responding to terrorism. NATO's work on airspace security, air defense, maritime security, response to CBRN, non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and protection of critical infrastructure is well established. The Alliance will strive to ensure that it has adequate capabilities to prevent, protect against and respond to terrorist threats, based on the level of ambition as defined in the Political Guidance.² It will do so by considering capability developments, innovative technologies and methods that address asymmetric threats in a more comprehensive and informed way, including through the Defense Against Terrorism Program of Work. NATO will also strive to maintain its operational capacity and capitalize on the lessons learned in operations, including experience gained through Special Operations Forces. Training, education and exercises based on different threat scenarios will continue to improve interoperability by assimilating lessons learned and best practices. These capabilities may also be offered to Allies in support of civil emergency planning and the protection of critical infrastructure, particularly as it may relate to counter-terrorism, as requested.

12. **Engagement:** The challenge of terrorism requires a holistic approach by the international community, involving a wide range of instruments. To enhance Allies' security, NATO will continue to engage with partner countries and other international actors in countering

terrorism. The Alliance will strengthen its outreach to and cooperation with partner countries as well as international and regional organizations, in particular the UN, EU and OSCE, in accordance with the Comprehensive Approach Action Plan, to promote common understanding of the terrorist threat and to leverage the full potential of each stake-holder engaged in the global counter terrorism effort. NATO will enhance consultations and ensure a more systematic approach to practical cooperation with partner countries³ using existing mechanisms, including scientific cooperation on technological innovation for improved security.⁴ Particular emphasis will be placed on raising awareness, capacity building, civil-emergency planning and crisis management in order to respond to specific needs of partner countries and Allied interests. This will advance partners' preparedness and protection as well as their identification of vulnerabilities and gaps and help partner countries to fight terrorism more effectively themselves. Counter-terrorism training, education and support for capacity building will be consistent with the objectives and priorities of NATO's policy on partnerships.

V. NATO's Response

13. The North Atlantic Council will guide NATO's counter-terrorism efforts and implementation of these Policy Guidelines. The Terrorism Task Force will report on an annual basis on the implementation of these Policy Guidelines.

14. NATO will maintain flexibility as to how to counter terrorism, playing a leading or supporting role as required. Allies' capabilities represent an essential component of a potential response to terrorism. Collective defense remains subject to decision by the North Atlantic Council (NAC).

Notes

¹ NATO will undertake all its activities related to partners and other international organizations in accordance with the Comprehensive Approach Action Plan and the relevant decisions, including those taken at the Lisbon Summit.

² Any possible emerging requirements for NATO common funding will be considered in accordance with standard processes.

³ A good example is the Cooperative Airspace Initiative within the framework of the NRC.

⁴ One example of such cooperation is the Science for Peace and Security (SPS) multi-year NRC project on "Program for Stand-off Detection of Explosives (STANDEX)."

Appendix B. Overview of National and International Response*

The United States

The United States has various policies and programs aimed at countering terrorism domestically and overseas. Engaged in the fight against terrorism is the U.S. Counterterrorism Team composed of the White House; the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Justice, and Homeland Security; Central Intelligence Agency; Office of the Director for National Intelligence; National Counterterrorism Center; and U.S. Agency for International Development. With regard to U.S. efforts overseas, the Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism (S/CT) coordinates and supports the development and implementation of all U.S. Government policies and programs. The mission of the office is to develop and lead worldwide efforts to combat terrorism using all the instruments of statecraft: diplomacy, economic power, intelligence, law enforcement, and military. The guiding principles are formulated in the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (2003): defeat terrorists and their organizations; deny sponsorship, support, and sanctuary to terrorists; diminish the underlying conditions that terrorists seek to exploit; and defend U.S. citizens and interests at home and abroad. Strategically, the S/CT aims at applying all elements of national power in conjunction with international partners, allies, and like-minded nonstate actors. It aims at building trusted networks that undermine, marginalize, and isolate the enemy as well as at finding alternatives to extremism. The strategy further attacks the terrorist enemy's three-part "threat complex": leadership, safe havens (physical safe havens, cyber safe havens, and ideological safe havens), and underlying conditions which terrorists exploit. It responds on four levels (global, regional, national, and local) over an extended timeframe to isolate the threat, defeat the isolated threat, and prevent its reemergence in the long run.

United Kingdom

The Office for Security and Counter-terrorism (OSCT), which is part of the Home Office, provides strategic direction to the UK's work to counter the threat from international terrorism. The OSCT reports to the Home Secretary and the Minister of State for Security and Counter-Terrorism. The main responsibilities are to support the Home Secretary and other Ministers in directing and implementing the UK counterterrorism strategy CONTEST adopted in 2003, which was revised once in 2009 and once in 2011. CONTEST aims to reduce the risk

*This appendix was developed by Elisa Oezbeck and updated by Marie-Theres Beumler.

to the UK and its interests overseas from international terrorism. Thereby, it focuses on four work streams: pursue (stop terrorist attacks), prevent (to stop people from becoming terrorist or supporting violent extremism), protect (to strengthen protection against terrorist attacks), and prepare (where an attack cannot be stopped, to mitigate its impact). OSCT also delivers aspects through legislation, guidance, and funding and sets the strategic government response to terrorism-related crises through the Cabinet Office Briefing Rooms mechanism. It manages the Home Secretary's statutory relationship with Security Services as well as the large public safety and security program.

Other European Countries

Unlike Americans, Europeans regard terrorism primarily as a criminal act. European nations have therefore tasked their national security apparatus to counter terrorism through legislative measures. In most European countries, the ministries of Interior and Justice are the leading and coordinating entities against terrorism in close cooperation with national police, intelligence services, and border security agencies. Differences in approaches are primarily visible in different emphasis on aspects in regard to the fight against terrorism—for example, France underlines the “pursue” pillar whereas the UK stresses the “prevent” pillar—due to national experiences. Depending on memberships, international cooperation may vary among European nations (G8, NATO, Financial Action Task Force). All are, however, actively engaged in the framework of the UN and its Global Strategy Against Terrorism (2006).

United Nations

Within the framework of the United Nations system, there are 16 universal instruments that have been elaborated relating to specific terrorist activities. In order to consolidate and enhance activities throughout the UN system, the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in 2006. In September 2010, this strategy was reconfirmed by the General Assembly. The resolution marks the first time that all member states of the United Nations have agreed to a common strategic and operational framework to fight terrorism. The strategy forms a basis for a concrete plan of action: address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, prevent and combat terrorism, take measures to build state capacity to fight terrorism, and ensure the respect of human rights for all as well as the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism. The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) provides the necessary policy support and spreads in-depth knowledge

of the Strategy, and wherever necessary, expedites delivery of technical assistance. CTITF was established in 2005 to enhance coordination and coherence of counterterrorism efforts of the UN system. Currently, the Task Force consists of 31 international entities that by virtue of their work have a stake in counterterrorism efforts.

UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) calls upon member states to implement a number of measures intended to enhance their legal and institutional ability to counter terrorist activities, including steps to criminalize the financing of terrorism; freeze without delay any funds related to persons involved in acts of terrorism; deny all forms of financial support; suppress the provision of safe haven, sustenance, and support for terrorists; share information with governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition, and prosecution of those involved in such acts; and criminalize active and passive assistance for terrorism in domestic law.

UN Security Council Resolution 1624 (2005) pertains to incitement to commit acts of terrorism, calling on UN member states to prohibit it by law, prevent such conduct, and deny safe haven to anyone “with respect to whom there is credible and relevant information giving serious reasons for considering that they have been guilty of such conduct.”

The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2006) was adopted by member states on September 8, 2006. The strategy represents a unique global instrument that is designed to enhance national, regional, and international efforts to counter terrorism. The strategy discusses “conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism,” “measures to prevent and combat terrorism,” “measures to build capacity and to strengthen the role of the UN,” and “measures to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law.”

Relevant Bodies include the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee, UN Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, and UN Office on Drugs and Crime.

The OSCE’s Action Against Terrorism Unit (ATU) was established in 2002 as the coordinating focal point and facilitator of OSCE counterterrorism activities. The Unit assists OSCE participating states in implementing counterterrorism commitments, thereby enhancing their overall capacities to prevent and combat terrorism. The Bucharest Plan of Action (2001) and the Porto Charter on Preventing and Combating Terrorism (2002) constitute the organization’s blueprint for combating terrorism. ATU programs include promoting international legal frameworks, enhancing international cooperation in criminal matters, enhancing passport/travel document security, promoting public-private partnerships, combating the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes, enhancing container/supply-chain security, countering violent

extremism and radicalization, and protecting critical energy infrastructures. Furthermore, the ATU established an OSCE Counter-Terrorism Network.

Relevant Bodies: Action Against Terrorism Unit

European Union. In December 2005, the European Union (EU) adopted a Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which continues to be the main framework for EU action in the field of counterterrorism. It recognizes that member states have the primary responsibility for combating terrorism, but identifies four ways in which the EU can add value: strengthening national capabilities, facilitating European cooperation, developing collective capability, and promoting international partnerships.

The objectives of the EU Strategy are to 1) increase cooperation with third countries and provide them assistance; 2) respect human rights; 3) prevent new recruits to terrorism; 4) better protect potential targets; 5) investigate and pursue members of existing networks; and 6) improve the capacity to respond to and manage the consequences of terrorist attacks. The EU strategy rests on four pillars: prevent, protect, pursue, and respond.

The “prevent” pillar aims to combat radicalization and the recruitment of terrorists by identifying the methods, propaganda, and instruments terrorists use through the coordination of national policies, the development of best practices, and the sharing of information.

The “protect” pillar aims to reduce the vulnerability of targets and limit the resulting impact of attack. It encourages collective action for border security, transport, and other cross-border infrastructure.

The “pursue” pillar focuses on pursuing terrorists across borders, cutting off access to attack materials, disrupting terrorist networks and recruitment agents, and tackling the misuse of nonprofit associations. The second aim of “pursue” is to put an end to sources of terrorist financing by carrying out inquiries, freezing assets, and impeding money transfers. The third aim is to halt the planning of terrorist activities by impeding the communication and dissemination of terrorists’ technical knowledge.

The “respond” pillar brings together issues such as civilian response capacity to deal with the aftermath of a terrorist attack, early warning systems, crisis management in general, and assistance to victims of terrorism.

The EU strategy to combat terrorism is complemented by four added values: strengthening national capabilities, facilitating European cooperation, developing collective capabilities, and international cooperation. The EU aims to engage with partners more effectively and in a more structured way, both at the strategic and the practical levels. Such reinforced cooperation should

not only focus on internal security aspects but also on third countries and regions identified as common priorities, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, and the Sahel region.

In addition to the strategy, the EU also has an Action Plan on Combating Terrorism, which was adopted in June 2004 and has since been updated. The plan includes 140 action items grouped under the four pillars of prevent, protect, pursue, and respond.

Partner Countries (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, Mediterranean Dialogue, Istanbul Cooperation Initiative, and Contact Countries). While all partner countries work together in the framework of the United Nations to fight terrorism, NATO's global partners have formulated and implemented national counterterrorism programs and strategies. These differ in their emphasis on aspects in the fight against terrorism and in their means—operational, political, legal, financial, military—due to national experiences and regional circumstances. The Kingdom of Morocco has adopted a counterterrorism strategy with an emphasis on judicial, military, and international elements. Internationally, Morocco cooperates closely with Spain and the United States. The Moroccan Army has further established three specialized units that are focusing on illegal immigration, terrorism, and drug smuggling. Key components of the Saudi Arabian strategy are prevention, rehabilitation, and aftercare programs. The government has launched a large education program about radical Islam and extremism. The centerpiece of the rehabilitation strategy is a comprehensive counseling program designed to re-educate violent extremists and sympathizers and to encourage extremists to renounce terrorist ideologies. The Ministry of Interior employs several initiatives to ensure that counseling and rehabilitation continue after release from state custody, including a halfway house program to ease release into society and programs to reintegrate returnees from Guantanamo Bay. Australia's counterterrorism strategy has four key elements that are laid out in its 2010 White Paper: analysis, protection, response, and resilience. In the fight against terrorism, Egypt underlines the importance of distinguishing terrorism as political and not a religious issue. Russia's counterterrorism strategy is laid out in the 1998 act "On Combating Terrorism" and the 2006 counterterrorism law that paved the way for institutional reorganization and more efficient intelligence and information-sharing. It also created the National Counter-terrorism Committee, which coordinates all federal-level antiterrorism policies and operations.

Appendix C. Key NATO Documents*

Military Concept for Defense Against Terrorism

On September 26, 2002, the Military Committee agreed to adopt MC 472, NATO Military Concept for Defense Against Terrorism. This concept addressed options for an expanded NATO role in the defense against terrorism to include Anti-Terrorism (AT) [defensive measures], Consequence Management (CM) [post attack recuperation], Counter-Terrorism (CT) [offensive measures], and Military Cooperation. (A sanitized version of the Military Concept for Defense Against Terrorism is on the NATO Web site.)

Partnership Action Plan Against Terrorism (2002)

Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council member states adopted the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism, undertaken to make all efforts within their power to prevent and suppress all terrorist acts in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1373. Furthermore, the plan stressed the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, sub-regional, regional, and international levels to strengthen a global response to this threat to international security.

Defense Against Terrorism Program of Work (2004)

The Defense Against Terrorism Program of Work (DAT POW) was developed by the Conference of National Armaments Directors in May 2004. It was approved at the Istanbul Summit. The DAT POW has focused on critical areas where technology can help prevent or mitigate the effects of terrorist attacks. With the increasing importance for the Alliance of countering non-traditional and emerging security challenges, the program was transferred to NATO's Emerging Security Challenges Division in 2010 to offer the Alliance a broader, cross-cutting approach to address the most urgent capability needs in defending against terrorism. NATO's DAT POW uses new or adapted technologies or methods to detect, disrupt, and defeat asymmetric threats under three capability umbrellas: Incident Management, Force Protection/Survivability, and Network Engagement.

* This appendix was developed by Elisa Oezbeck and updated by Marie-Theres Beumler.

NATO-Russia Joint Review of the 21st-century Common Security Challenges (2010)

NATO and Russia outlined shared views on key security questions to be addressed through practical cooperation. Counterterrorism and the fight against piracy was a further issue discussed for inclusion in NATO-Russia Council (NRC) cooperation. A NATO-Russia Action Plan on Terrorism was developed in 2004 and updated in 2010 on the basis of the Joint Review. The NRC Foreign Ministers meeting held in Berlin on April 15, 2011, approved the updated NRC Action Plan on Terrorism.

NATO Policy Guidelines on Countering Terrorism (2012)

The NATO Policy Guidelines on Countering Terrorism were agreed upon by the North Atlantic Council in April 2012 and endorsed by NATO Heads of State and Government at the Chicago Summit on May 20, 2012. The guidelines provide a new framework to NATO's role and activities in countering terrorism, based on the principles of Compliance with International Law, NATO's Support to Allies, and Non-Duplication and Complementarity, and focused on Awareness, Capabilities, and Engagement.

Notes

¹ Chicago Summit Declaration issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Chicago, May 20, 2012, paragraph 51, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87593.htm>.

² *Active Engagement, Modern Defence: Strategic Concept for the Defence and Security of the Members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (Brussels: NATO, 2010), paragraph 10, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68580.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

³ Louise Shelley and John Picarelli, "Methods Not Motives: Implications of the Convergence of International Organized Crime and Terrorism," *Police Practice and Research* 3 (2002), 305–318.

⁴ The most relevant groups include al Qaeda in Iraq, al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, the Somali Islamist insurgent group al Shabaab, al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Lashkar-e-Taiba in Pakistan, and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

⁵ According to the NATO Capstone Concept, NATO defines *hybrid threats* as "those posed by adversaries, with the ability to simultaneously employ conventional and non-conventional means adaptively in pursuit of their objectives." See Michael Miklaucic, "NATO Countering the Hybrid Threat," Allied Command Transformation Web site, September 23, 2011, available at <www.act.nato.int/top-headlines/nato-countering-the-hybrid-threat>.

⁶ The crime-terror nexus was also discussed at the conference on Trans-Atlantic Dialogue on Combating Crime-Terror Pipelines: Dismantling Converging Threat Networks to Strengthen Global Security, June 25–26, 2012, at the National Defense University, Washington, DC.

⁷ Europol, *TE-SAT 2011, EU [European Union] Terrorism Situation and Trend Report*, European Police Office, 2011, available at <www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/te-sat2011_0.pdf>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For instance, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have become the primary weapon of choice of both terrorist and insurgent. Accordingly, they are increasingly referred to as IED "networks." IED networks extend beyond the theater of operations and are often closely linked to criminal and terrorist networks on a global scale. The fight against these networks requires means beyond the military, including law enforcement and other governmental agencies. In order to enhance the ability to attack the network, it is essential to identify precisely what kind of areas should be covered by each of these bodies and consequently to establish priorities and develop mechanisms to share information.

¹⁰ *Ungoverned spaces* are here understood as areas in which the state is no longer willing or able to enforce law and order. Often, this is followed by an effective takeover of control by nonstate actors, such as warlords. These areas are typically at considerable distance from the capital. Edward Newman, "Weak States, State Failure and Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19, no. 4 (2007); Angel Rabasa et al., *Ungoverned Territories: Understanding and Reducing Terrorism Risks* (Santa Monica: RAND, 2007).

¹¹ Lucio Caracciolo, "Terroristi di casa nostra," *Limes*, December, 17, 2010.

¹² "Protecting America from Terrorist Attack," speech by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director Robert Mueller at City Club of Cleveland, June 23, 2006. Quoted in Kimberley L. Thachuk, Marion E. "Spike" Bowman, and Courtney Richardson, *Homegrown Terrorism: The Threat Within* (Washington, DC: Center for Technology and National Security Policy, 2008).

¹³ Shirwa Ahmed, an ethnic Somali from Minneapolis, was the first American terrorist suicide attacker anywhere. He blew himself up in front of a government compound in northern Somalia on October 29, 2008, killing about 20 people including United Nations (UN) peacekeepers and humanitarian assistance workers. It is possible that 18-year-old Omar Mohamud of Seattle was the second. On September 17, 2009, two stolen UN vehicles loaded with bombs blew up at the Mogadishu airport killing more than a dozen peacekeepers of the African Union. The FBI suspects that Mohamud was one of the bombers.

¹⁴ In June 2011, Abu Yahya al Libi compared “one attack in the West to more than tens of attacks in faraway battlefields.” See Randall Blake, “The Next Chapter of Global Jihad,” The Brookings Institution, May 1, 2012, available at <www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/05/01-jihad-trends-blake>.

¹⁵ Ibid. Blake notes that “While spanning the motivational and ideological spectrum, Nidal Hassan, the 2007 Virginia Tech shooter, Norway’s Anders Breivik, and France’s Mohammed Merah have already proven the power of ‘unsophisticated’ DIY terror.”

¹⁶ Brian Jenkins, “The al Qaeda–Inspired Terrorist Threat,” Testimony presented before the Canadian Senate Special Committee on Anti-terrorism, December 6, 2010.

¹⁷ Europol, *TE-SAT 2011, EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report*.

¹⁸ Notably in the framework of UN Security Council Resolution 1373.

¹⁹ Terrorist means to finance activities are adaptive and able to exploit vulnerabilities to advantages. Such vulnerabilities can occur in charities; identity theft; tax havens; state sponsorship; income generation from legal businesses; trafficking of migrants, women, drugs; sales of small arms and light weapons; contributions from radicalized diasporas; informal money transfers utilizing the *hawala* system; Twitpay; Facebook credits; theft; smuggling; and corruption.

²⁰ Bernard E. Selwan el Khoury, “Jihad and Arab Spring: How much 2.0 is al Qaeda?” *Limes*, May 16, 2012.

²¹ Jack Cloherty, “Al Qaeda video calls for ‘electronic jihad,’” May 22, 2012, ABC News, available at <abcnews.go.com/Politics/cyber-terrorism-al-qaeda-video-calls-electronic-jihad/story?id=16407875>.

²² Blake notes that “Terrorist acquisition of chemical-biological devices in Syria can be game changers.”

²³ Harold M. Agnew, a nuclear weapons engineer, became the third U.S. Los Alamos National Laboratory director in 1970. He also served as scientific advisor to NATO.

²⁴ In Europe, the terrorist threat varies greatly between separatist groups, politically motivated groups, and the ever-present Islamist threat. While some countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, and France have a history of separatism, others such as Italy, Germany, and even Greece suffered mainly from politically motivated terrorism. In 2011, the highest number of attacks on European soil was carried out by separatist groups, followed by extremist or anarchist groups. Spain and France were the countries most affected. See Europol, *TE-SAT 2011: EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report*.

²⁵ Paragraph 24 of NATO’s 1999 Strategic Concept, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm>.

²⁶ NATO Operations and Missions, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_52060.htm>.

²⁷ MC-472.

²⁸ Comprehensive Political Guidance, endorsed by NATO Heads of State and Government on November 29, 2006, *The Strategic Context*, paragraph 2, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_56425.htm>.

²⁹ *Active Engagement, Modern Defence*, paragraph 10.

³⁰ “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism: Aware, Capable and Engaged for a Safer Future,” introduction, paragraph 1, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87905.htm?>.

³¹ *Ibid.*, paragraph 2.

³² *Ibid.*, paragraph 4.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “In accordance with the Strategic Concept, we will continue to enhance both the political and the military aspects of NATO’s contribution to deter, defend, disrupt and protect against this threat including through advanced technologies and greater information and intelligence sharing.” See paragraph 39 of the Lisbon Summit Declaration, November 20, 2010. See also paragraph 8. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm>.

³⁵ “Defending the Networks: The NATO Policy on Cyber Defense,” June 8, 2011, available at <www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_09/20111004_110914-policy-cyberdefence.pdf>.

³⁶ *Active Engagement, Modern Defence*, preface.

³⁷ “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism,” paragraph 5.

³⁸ Jamie Shea, “Keeping NATO Relevant,” in *Policy Outlook*, Carnegie Endowment, April 2012, 2.

³⁹ NATO’s Comprehensive Approach is predicated on the understanding that effective crisis management calls for the coordinated use of political, civilian, and military instruments. The concept was first introduced in 2005 into NATO’s debate by Denmark’s “Concerted Planning and Action” concept. The concept evolved to become NATO’s Comprehensive Approach and was ultimately endorsed at the 2008 NATO summit in Bucharest (Bucharest Summit Declaration, April 3, 2008, paragraph 11), available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_8443.htm?selectedLocale=en>. Allied leaders agreed at the Lisbon Summit in 2010 to “enhance NATO’s contribution to a Comprehensive Approach to crisis management as part of the international community’s effort and to improve NATO’s ability to contribute to stabilization and reconstruction.” See Lisbon Summit Declaration, November 20, 2010, paragraph 9, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴¹ “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism.”

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ In 2000, with the review of Civil Emergency Planning in NATO and the reform of the Senior Civil Emergency Planning Committee, nations agreed on the five roles for NATO Civil Emergency Planning: 1) civil support for Alliance Article 5 (collective defense) operations, 2) support for non-Article 5 (crisis response) operations, 3) support for national authorities in civil emergencies, 4) support for national authorities in the protection of populations against the effects of weapons of mass destruction, and 5) cooperation with partner countries in preparing for and dealing with disasters. The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center is a disaster-response clearinghouse mechanism established by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) in 1998. Its main role is to coordinate requests and offers for assistance in the

case of natural, technological, or man-made disasters. Following the 9/11 attacks on the United States, the center's role was expanded to coordinate international assistance from EAPC countries to help deal with the consequences of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) incidents, including terrorist attacks. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49158.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁴⁵ "NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism," paragraph 7.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ The counterterrorism "package" adopted in Prague included a Military Concept for the Defense Against Terrorism; A Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism; five nuclear, biological, and chemical defense initiatives; protection of civilian populations including a Civil Emergency Planning Action Plan; Missile Defense; Cyber Defense; Cooperation with other International Organizations; and Intelligence Sharing, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_77646.htm?>>.

⁴⁸ By contrast, the 1999 Strategic Concept made only indirect reference to terrorism as one of many security challenges and risks. Not mentioned as a dimension of the evolving strategic environment, reference to terrorism appears only in the third sentence of paragraph 24: "Alliance security interests can be affected by other risks of a wider nature, including acts of terrorism, sabotage and organized crime, and by the disruption of the flow of vital resources," available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_27433.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁴⁹ "NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Following the 2010–2011 comprehensive reform of NATO intelligence, a newly created Intelligence Unit absorbed and expanded the functions of the Terrorism Threat Intelligence Unit. This has further enhanced the analytical approaches on terrorism and its links with other transnational threats. In particular, the current mechanism has enhanced cooperation among the NATO civilian and military intelligence components, and preserved the previously developed mechanisms that ensure coherent intelligence sharing with partners through the Intelligence Liaison Unit. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_77646.htm?>>.

⁵² "NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism," paragraph 11.

⁵³ Located at SHAPE Headquarters in Mons, Belgium, NSHQ was set up to coordinate NATO's Special Operations and optimize the employment of Special Forces. Although the majority of what NSHQ does is at the strategic and operational level, the NATO Special Operations Headquarters is also the place for training and education for NATO and partner nations. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_84662.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁵⁴ At Prague in 2002, a Civil Emergency Action plan was adopted for the protection of populations against the effects of weapons of mass destruction. As a result, an inventory of national capabilities for use in CBRN incidents (e.g., medical assistance, radiological detection units, aero-medical evacuation) has been developed. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49158.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁵⁵ Readout of the meeting between U.S. President Barack Obama and NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen on May 9, 2012, available at <www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/05/09/readout-president-s-meeting-nato-secretary-general-rasmussen>.

⁵⁶ "NATO's Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism," Key Areas, paragraph 12.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Statement by the North Atlantic Council*, September 12, 2001, “The Council agreed that if it is determined that this attack was directed from abroad against the United States, it shall be regarded as an action covered by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty, which states that an armed attack against one or more of the Allies in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.” Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_18553.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁵⁹ Paragraph 20 of the Chicago Summit Declaration states: “NATO and the EU share common values and strategic interests. The EU is a unique and essential partner for NATO. Fully strengthening this strategic partnership, as agreed by our two organizations and enshrined in the Strategic Concept, is particularly important in the current environment of austerity; NATO and the EU should continue to work to enhance practical cooperation in operations, broaden political consultations, and cooperate more fully in capability development. . . . NATO also recognizes non-EU Allies’ ongoing concerns and their significant contributions to strengthening the EU’s capacities to address common security challenges.” Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87593.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Louise I. Shelley et al., *Methods and Motives: Exploring Links between Transnational Organized Crime & International Terrorism*, report, U.S. Department of Justice, September 2005.

⁶² “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism,” footnote 1 to paragraph 5, and Key Areas, paragraph 12.

⁶³ The Berlin Plus Agreement has seven major parts: 1) NATO-EU Security Agreement, which covers the exchange of classified information under reciprocal security protection rules; 2) assured access to NATO planning capabilities for EU-led crisis management operations (CMO); 3) availability of NATO assets and capabilities for EU-led CMOs, such as communication units and headquarters; 4) procedures for release, monitoring, return, and recall of NATO assets and capabilities; 5) Terms of Reference for DSACEUR and European Command options for NATO; 6) arrangements for coherent and mutually reinforcing capability requirements, in particular the incorporation within NATO’s defense planning of the military needs and capabilities that may be required for EU-led military operations; 7) EU-NATO consultation arrangements in the context of an EU-led CMO making use of NATO assets and capabilities. This comprehensive framework for NATO-EU relations was concluded on March 17, 2003, by the exchange of letters by EU High Representative Javier Solana and then-Secretary General of NATO, Lord Robertson.

⁶⁴ Cyprus has no Security Agreement with NATO and therefore cannot access NATO “classified” information.

⁶⁵ The NATO HQ Terrorism Task Force is a staff structure made up of representatives of NATO Headquarters International Staff and International Military Staff divisions and organizations dealing with terrorism-related issues.

⁶⁶ J.R. Galbraith, “Matrix Organization Designs: How to combine functional and project forms,” *Business Horizons*, February 1971, 29–40.

⁶⁷ According to Lawrence, Kolodny, and Davis (1977), organizations use matrices when they have 1) an absolute need for higher responsiveness toward two sectors: markets and technology; 2) a need for achieving greater flexibility, which a conventional, strictly hierarchical structure may not be able to provide, and “of reconciling this flexibility with the coordination and economies of scale that

are historic strengths of large organizations”; 3) uncertainties that create high information processing requirements; 4) strong constraints on financial or human resources. Prakash K. Nair, “Demystifying the Matrix,” *Leaderati Infosys Blog*, October 3, 2011, available at <www.infosysblogs.com/leadership/2011/10/demystifying_the_matrix.html>.

⁶⁸ In this context, the term *resources* is intended in its managerial connotation of funds, time, and personnel.

⁶⁹ In this respect, the contribution provided by NATO’s Civil Emergency Planning’s five technical planning groups is remarkable. The groups bring together national experts from the public and private sectors and industry to coordinate planning in various areas of civil activity. The five planning groups are: Civil Protection, Transport, Public Health, Food and Water, and Industrial Resources and Communications. Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49158.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁷⁰ Chicago Summit Declaration, issued by the heads of state and government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Chicago, May 20, 2012.

⁷¹ James Carafano, “Dynamics of Military Revolution, 1300–2050,” *Richmond Independent News*, September 13, 2002.

⁷² “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism,” Key Areas, paragraph 10.

⁷³ James T. Snyder, “Counterinsurgency Vocabulary and Strategic Success,” *Military Review* (November–December 2011), 23–28.

⁷⁴ General David H. Petraeus, USA, *COMISAF’s Counterinsurgency Guidance*, Headquarters, International Security Assistance Force/United States Forces Afghanistan, July 27, 2010.

⁷⁵ Of particular relevance is the study produced by the Strategic Communication for Combating Terrorism workshop conducted by the NATO Centre of Excellence—Defense Against Terrorism, on May 12–13, 2009, in Ankara, Turkey. Available at <www.coedat.nato.int/publications/StratComm/StratComm2010.pdf>.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ The Human Environment Capabilities project was launched by ACT in June 2012 and will engage experts from the military, industry, and academia to analyze the importance and impact of the human environment in modern operations. Available at <www.act.nato.int/innovationhub>.

⁷⁸ “NATO’s Policy Guidelines on Counter-terrorism,” NATO Response, paragraph 14.

⁷⁹ According to Prakash K. Nair, “Ambiguous authority happens when a member or members in a unit may have the responsibility of executing a task but may not have the authority to do it.” See Nair.

⁸⁰ Gabor Iklody, “The Next Steps for NATO,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, June 5, 2012.

⁸¹ According to Ronald A. Gunn, “A ‘Matrix Guardian,’ also known as a ‘Matrix Manager,’ is an individual whose job it is to see to it that the matrix structure is functioning effectively and efficiently, and that the principles of matrix management are being applied correctly and fairly. The Matrix Guardian ensures that ‘good hygiene’ is being practiced throughout the matrix structure.” Among the functions of the Matrix Guardian is to “function as an ombudsman or arbiter in working through a variety of emerging issues such as chronic staff overwork/underwork or boundary disputes, for example.” See Ronald A. Gunn, “Matrix Manager and the Matrix Guardian,” *Strategic Futures Blog*, August 24, 2010, available at <www.strategicfutures.com/2010/08/matrix-management-and-the-matrix-guardian/>.

⁸² Jean-Louis Bruguier, *Ce que je n'ai pas pu dire: Entretiens avec Jean-Marie Pontaut*, ed. Robert Laffont (Paris: RAND Europe, 2009); *Quick scan of post 9/11 national counter-terrorism policymaking and implementation in selected European countries* (Leiden, 2002).

⁸³ Alliance Maritime Strategy—The Maritime Security Environment, paragraph 6, March 18, 2011, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_75615.htm?selectedLocale=en>.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) is a global effort that aims to stop trafficking of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), their delivery systems, and related materials to and from states and nonstate actors of proliferation concern. Launched on May 31, 2003, U.S. involvement in the PSI stems from the U.S. National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, issued in December 2002. See U.S. State Department, Bureau of International Security and Non-Proliferation, available at <www.state.gov/documents/organization/60173.pdf>.

⁸⁶ FRONTEX is the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the member states of the European Union. The agency was set up in 2004 to reinforce and streamline cooperation between national border authorities. FRONTEX promotes, coordinates, and develops European border management in line with the EU fundamental rights charter and applying the concept of Integrated Border Management. Available at <www.frontex.europa.eu>.

⁸⁷ Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, issued by the heads of state and government of Afghanistan and Nations Contributing to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), May 21, 2012, Beyond 2014, paragraph 12, available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87595.htm>.

⁸⁸ The Group of 13 consisted of Australia, Austria, Finland, Georgia, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Morocco, New Zealand, Qatar, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Arab Emirates.

⁸⁹ Stefano Santamato, "More than Partners, not quite Allies—The 'NATO Association': a proposal for the Chicago Summit," *INSS Dynamic Dialogue*, April 11, 2012, available at <www.inssblog.wordpress.com/>.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall, *The NATO Chicago Summit: Outcomes and Way Ahead* (Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, May 24, 2012), available at <www.acus.org>. Dr. Sherwood-Randall is Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Europe at the National Security Council.

⁹¹ The Connected Forces Initiative (CFI) was introduced ahead of the NATO summit in Chicago on May 21–22, 2012. The CFI is mentioned in the Summit Declaration on Defense Capabilities: Toward NATO Forces 2020, paragraph 11. According to it, through CFI, NATO "will expand education and training of our personnel, complementing in this way essential national efforts. We will enhance our exercises. We will link our networks together even more. We will strengthen the bonds between NATO Command Structure, the NATO Force Structure, and our national headquarters. We will also enhance cooperation among our Special Operations Forces including through NATO's Special Operations Forces Headquarters. We will strengthen the use of the NATO Response Force, so that it can play a greater role in enhancing the ability of Alliance forces to operate together and to contribute to our deterrence and defense posture. As much as possible, we will also step up our connections with Partners, so that when we wish to act together, we can." Available at <www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87594.htm>.

⁹² Chicago Summit Declaration issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Chicago on May 20, 2012, paragraph 24.

⁹³ The NATO Political-Military Framework regulates partners' participation in NATO-led operations. According to it, partners can only be involved in *shaping* decisions that, ultimately, will be taken only by Allies.

⁹⁴ Santamato.

⁹⁵ Hillary Clinton launched the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) on September 22, 2011. The GCTF is a multilateral counterterrorism body with 30 founding members (29 countries plus the EU). See U.S. Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, available at <www.state.gov/j/ct/gctf/index.htm>.

⁹⁶ Initial GCTF working groups will focus on: 1) the criminal justice sector and rule of law, 2) countering violent extremism, 3) capacity building in the Sahel, 4) capacity building in The Horn Region, and 5) capacity building in Southeast Asia. "Global Counter-terrorism Forum Fact Sheet," September 9, 2011, available at <www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/09/172010.htm>.

⁹⁷ The 30 founding members of the GCTF are Algeria, Australia, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, the European Union, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Morocco, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States, "Global Counter-terrorism Forum Fact Sheet."

⁹⁸ All the more considering that Turkey hosts NATO's Center of Excellence for the Defense Against Terrorism.

⁹⁹ "Global Counter-terrorism Forum Fact Sheet."

¹⁰⁰ *Active Engagement, Modern Defence*, paragraphs 1 and 4.

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